

LETTER

TO THE

CITIZENS

OF

DUBLIN.

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— OFFENCES have come, WOR be to those by whom  
they came. —

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DUBLIN:

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# LETTER, &c.

GENTLEMEN,

**P**ART of the following Letter was written some Weeks ago, and probably would have been suppressed, had not some Reasons intervened of a very extraordinary Nature, which induce me to publish it, whatever the Consequences may be, and to address you, my Fellow-Subjects, whose Welfare I think myself obliged by every Tye to promote, equally with that of Great-Britain.

It is the distinguishing Happiness of these Kingdoms, that they are united, under the noblest Constitution which Time has produced ; under a Government so equably tempered between Monarchy and a Republic, that without their Evils we enjoy the Blessings of both : But every Degree of good, has its Allay of ill Fortune ; the more perfect the Constitution is, the Difficulty of preserving it is

greater, and the Wounds of a bad Administration affect more feelingly. Confinement and Oppression, in themselves, are Evils, but they are doubly such to him whose BIRTH-RIGHT is *Freedom*, and whose CHARTER confirms that Birth-right. Yet the Beauty of our Constitution is seen in the Precautions to prevent even possible Misfortunes: As it is the Interest, it is also a Right left free to every Subject to examine the Characters and Conduct of Ministers and Place-men, to give the Alarm on every Appearance of Danger, and to publish their slightest Fears; it is not a Right only, it is a Duty which he owes to himself, to his Country, and to Posterity.

THE Men who lye most open to Examination, and consequently to Censure or Applause, are those who stile themselves PATRIOTS. Their Situation draws many Eyes upon them; every Disposition finds Matter in their Actions on which to exert itself; Generosity and Gratitude will magnify their Virtues; Envy and Detraction will feed on their Foibles: Indeed it is reasonable that they who proclaim themselves the Guardians of the People's Rights, who to exaggerate publick Grievances, take the Liberty to expose and blacken private Characters; that these Men should submit their own Character to Scrutiny; that they should be narrowly watched, least under an Appearance of making us absolutely free, they should lull us into Security, and then plunge us into *absolute Slavery*. This Deceit I have always dreaded from a Set of Men, whom I shall distinguish by the Name of COURT-PATRIOTS, as they are a Species trained in the Craft, and nourished by the Influence of a Court. There are supple Statesmen, well practised in Compliance,

pliance, who, being less acquainted with the Constitution, than the Administration, always make the former bend to the latter; they alter and amend, make or unmake, ratify or annul, agreeably to this Maxim, *id ita Justum esse, quod cuique suo tempore expedit*, that every Thing is just which is expedient. They swarm about the Palaces, they buzz in the Ears of Princes, and deafen the Voice of the CHARMER, charm he never so wisely: They can apologize for Vice, and flatter Infirmary; they can do the filthy Jobs, and lick the Spittle of a Substitute. Such Men are dangerous, not because they have Authority, but because they creep into Power; when they are possessed of Power they guard it with the Watch of Hydras, because Justice is dreadful to them.

THERE is yet an Aggravation of this Evil; these Men are sometimes cursed with Abilities, which enable them to diffuse wrong Opinions, thereby to infatuate the People; on their Infatuation to build Corruption, and by Corruption to enslave them. Of such Men every good Subject will be watchful and jealous; his Indignation will rouse him to detect their Errors and Absurdities, and to expose the Motives and Tendency of their Actions; he will think no Labour too great, no Time employed to better Purposes, than what is spent in Endeavours to guard the Freedom and Prerogative of his Fellow-Subjects, which none but a TYRANT would destroy, none but a Slave would resign.

From this Motive I was induced to look into the supposed Writings of a Cork-Surgeon, who now triumphs in his late Conquest. I shall use him with the same Candour, with which he has treated

a Man by so much greater than himself, as Pompey was superior to the Slave who butcher'd Him. I shall consider only the pernicious tendency and absurdity of his Writings, and deduce all my Inferences from his own Words.

I shall begin with his Doctrine of Dependency: It is a Subject of which I chuse to say very little; an absolute Independency would be fatal to this Kingdom. Whether an Independency in the Legislature might not be preserved, without Injury to the Trade of this Kingdom or of Great Britain? Whether *Ireland* can be deprived of such Independency, without loosing the Corner Stone of Liberty? Whether there be any difference between imposing severe destructive Laws on a People without their Consent, and barely hindering that People from making Laws destructive to their Neighbours and Fellow-Subjects? These Questions I shall not determine: I chuse rather to explain the Doctrine of a Cork-Surgeon, or a COURT-PATRIOT.

No. 3. P. 5. *Each particular Society is formed upon a necessary Dependency of Individuals, one upon the other; that the stronger may support and defend the weaker. The same Reason governs States: A weak one, unable to defend itself, must place itself under the Protection of one sufficiently powerful, to guard it against the Injuries, Insults and Incroachments of its ravaging Neighbours: And great Advantages ought to accrue, from the Protected to the Protectors, to reward them for their Protection. As such a Dependency is never annexed to any State, merely for the sake of the State depended upon, it must of course fluctuate with Power, and for ever be attendant thereon: And as the Shifting of this Dependency*

pendency cannot be effected without great Convulsions, Disorder and Violence; it is manifestly the Interest of the Protected, as well as the Protector, that the Power of the stronger should be preserved entire, rather encreased than diminished; and that therefore the weaker should ever yield without Force or Compulsion, in all Points of Trade, to the stronger, for the sake of the Whole.

Here you are told, first, that States subsist by the same Subordination which is necessary among Individuals; secondly, that the weaker State must be protected by the stronger; and his Conclusion is extremely remarkable; *therefore the weaker must yield, without Force, in all Points of Trade, to the stronger.* This is good Eastern Policy, or might suit well with the Genius of France. If a Man stronger than me, should defend me, from a Foreign attack, (by the Word FOREIGN I mean neither Fellow-Subject nor Ally) shall I therefore resign to him all the Rights and Privileges of a Man? Because he preserves my Life, shall he therefore enslave me? But this *Babler* says, *the weaker must yield for the good of the Whole*; ----for the good of the stronger he means. I grant that the Weaker State must through necessity yield in all Points, even in the most servile; but a State so yielding can never be called happy or free; It deserves our Pity, as the stronger, exerting its Power, excites our Abhorrence and Hatred; The one is unjust, and the other is wretched; for he would surely be inhuman who should keep the Sword drawn against me, because I had none to draw.

BEFORE I consider his Application of this General Doctrine, allow me to collect as well as I am able

able from his own Writings that *Ireland* is not constitutionally dependent on Great Britain: No. 3. P. 5. *He, who ever roars against this Dependency, and tumbles over musty, old Records hardly legible, to prove she ought to be INDEPENDANT, confesses she is DEPENDANT by Compulsion, and puts upon us the Badges of Slaves, which we cannot throw off.* Is not this a Confession, that, if these Records be true, *Ireland* is by Constitution Independent: But, he adds, do not the very Assertors of this Doctrine confess that we are DEPENDANT by COMPULSION? To which I answer, No. A State may voluntarily give up its Privileges to another, thro' Supineness and Ignorance, as the Jews in their Foolishness demanded a King to rule over them: Is that State enslaved by Compulsion? In my Folly I may give a Power over my Children and my Estate, which no Law can justify, without Force, without feeling its Misery; But if my Son shall be cramped in the use of his Person or his Property, if he has a quick Sense of that dependant State into which I have plunged him; He will try all means to shake off his Slavery, If he fails he is unhappy, but his Enslaver is a Tyrant: Is there no distinction between Involuntary and Voluntary Servitude? the Declaimer will answer; No. 4. P. 4. *What matters then, whether it be so by Original Force or Content?* To which I reply, the former is a misfortune, but the latter is always a Crime. But to return; No. 2. P. 10. *It is flat Nonsense and Impertinence, to go further back than the Revolution for Arguments, to determine the Question about the DEPENDANCY of IRELAND upon BRITAIN.* By which every reasonable Man will conclude that no argument for the Dependency of *Ireland*, existed before that

that Time, or this learned State-Surgeon would have produced it.

I shall now examine the application of his Policy to Ireland and England; He says, that the former is poor and weak, and necessarily protected by the Latter: To use his own Words in No. 3. P. 7. *That Ireland had this Protection, and still has it, is evident from it's Trade and Condition, improving Every Day, through Peace and War, without contributing, or being able to contribute, anything towards its own Defence not oven Privateers, in War, worth speaking of, to annoy the Enemy.* Here we are told, first, that we do not; Secondly that we cannot contribute to our own Support; Certainly if we cannot, we do not; But I will answer his Assertions in his own Order. If it be true, that during the Last War a new Tax was raised from Teas, amounting Yearly at a moderate Coputation to 20,000 Pounds, and that this Duty was immediately taken off, when the Peace was concluded; then his first Assertion falls to the Ground. To disprove the second, I will produce Part of the very Paragraph last mentioned. *Our GOVERNORS truly inform the KING and the PARLIAMENT of GREAT-BRITAIN, that we are loyal Subjects and firmly annexed to the INTEREST of our MOTHER-COUNTRY; that our Wealth is her own, and that, though we laboriously gather the Honey we desire but the Wax to remain with us; we freely give to her the rich Substance thereof; our Abundance shall be thrown into the Lap of her, who by her powerful Protection enables us to gather it.* Thus in the same Paragraph, we are not able to maintain a Privateer; and yet **OUR WEALTH IS THE**  
B WEALTH

WEALTH OF ENGLAND; WE FEED HER WITH HONEY; WE THROW OUR ABUNDANCE INTO HER LAP. In No. 5. P. 8. He says, IRELAND is more profitable to GREAT BRITAIN than the Richest Mine of Mexico would be. Can Ireland be both rich and poor, while this Babler writes a sheet of Paper, while he writes a single Paragraph; Will he execute the Work of Ages in the twinkling of an Eye; or is he, all this Time, in that Dream in which he confesses himself to be in his seventh Number. Are we in one Week, poor Abject Slaves and Beggars, and in the next, the Support of England, The Mine from which she draws her Wealth and her Means of subsistence; surely, this worthy Cavalier did not believe himself when He asserted such Contradictions.

Our Author is no less happy throughout; He says, and unsays, and knows not what He says in the same Page. To obtain a more distinct View of him; I shall repeat the last Proposition, of his General Policy. *The weaker should ever yield, without force or or Compulsion, in all Points of Trade, to the Stronger.* I proceed now to consider his new Doctrine of Traffic. In No, 4. P. 6. He tells us that, *Trade and Power at Sea are productive of one Another.* If Trade be productive of Power, it must be productive of Wealth; To which he Assents in No, 3. P, 6 *Without Trade, we should be soon a pretty Pack of Moneyless People.* But in the very same Page we are informed, that, *The Dependance of IRELAND was in those Days (in Charles the first's Reign) too much confined to the Person of the KING; that she is yet in the same Helpless State, and Her Necessity for Protection will grow with Her Trade.* Thus in one Paragraph,

graph. Trade produces Power; In another, *Ireland* will be less able to defend her self, in Proportion, as her Trade grows more extensive and profitable; That is, Trade will make *Ireland* rich and powerful, and it will make her poor and defenceless. Into what a Jumble of Inconsistencies has this Gentleman plunged himself; at one Breath He affirms and denies the same Thing: I wish He had followed the Custom of MARCUS ANTONIUS, of whom Cicero says, that He never wrote an Oration, because if it should be necessary for him, not to have said a Thing, He might do it with a good Grace, when his writings could not be produced. But our Author was not so fortunate; The poor Man wrote for Bread, and his Appetite over ruled his Discretion. Yet this is the Hero of Court-Patriots, The Prop of modern State-Policy; This is the CORK-SURGEON who for private Gain, would draw the Blood from the very Heart of the Constitution.

BUT, it appears by the former Part of the last Quotation, that, *IRELAND is too much DEPENDANT on the Person of the KING at this very Day.* This is a Declaration, which that Loyal Gentleman never intended to make, and therefore I shall not dwell upon it. He has ignorantly or knavishly committed so many Absurdities and Errors, that to detect them all, would employ as much Time, as He wasted lately in Writing them.

I shall trouble my Readers with another Absurdity, which occurred to me in his History of the *Woollen Manufacture.* If I misquote Him, If I draw

draw meanings from his Words which they will not fairly admit, let the Censure fall upon me, which I would bring upon Him. His words are these in No. 3. P. 8. *If IRELAND were never to be relieved from the Rigour and Severity of these Laws, relating to our Woollen Manufacture, it should be remembered that the Prohibition is but partial: In the same Paragraph He says, that we have noble, honnoable, generous and abundant Amends made to us, for what we are supposed to suffer, by hindering us from exporting our Woollen Manufacture.* In the Beginning of this Paragraph, The Laws are confessed to be rigorous and severe, What can be said worse of any Laws? Could he say more of the Bondage of the Children of Isral in Egypt, when the were forced to make Brick without Straw? Yet, in the Conclusion of this very Paragraph, the Storm vanishes and all is Sunshine; We are only SUPPOSED TO SUFFER; Our Pains are imaginary, the Laws are in Fact, mild and gracious, and we are a discontented and ungrateful People. Such Inferences must be deduced from His Writings.

HITHERTO I have examined the Writings of this Author as they relate to Trade: He is the same on all Subjects, equally consistent in Absurdity and Contradiction, of which I shall give one Instance, where He speaks of the disposal of Offices. No. 4. p. 9. *It has been a Complaint of this, and of all DEPENDANT COUNTRIES, that the Natives have been too much neglected, in the Disposal of Offices and Employments. But IRISHMEN are looked upon now with another Eye, and make their Way, not only into the Offices of Profit and Trust at Home,*  
but

but into those about the Persons of KING and PRINCE, and at the highest Boards of GREAT-BRITAIN; and no difference is made, *cæteris paribus*, between a British Subject of ENGLAND, WALES, SCOTLAND, or IRELAND, and it will arise from ourselves, if this Indifference doth not increase daily. Thus in the very same Sentence, He positively affirms that no Distinction is made between Irish and English Subjects, and confesses that such Distinction is made, by allowing that this Indifference may daily increase, and the Distrust of the English be remov'd. Now mark the next Paragraph, *Natural Understanding is here, just as it is among our Neighbours: But the Rewards for Learning are undoubtedly fewer, and as the same Motives of Interest and Affection rule every where, but part of the few fall to the Lot of Natives.* In the former Quotation, the highest Offices in Britain are given indiscriminately to Irish Subjects; In the latter few Offices in Ireland, fall to the Lot of Natives, If He had said very few I should have believed him: But is this Gentleman consistent? Yes, in his Absurdities. Can any thinking Man conclude, that *Irishmen* will be admitted indifferently to the first Honours, Dignities, and Profits of *Great Britain*, when they cannot, without Difficulty, obtain a Place worth an hundred pounds a Year, in their own Country. Has this Gentleman any meaning in his Writings? Yes, he shews that we are a most dependent Abject State, and then would prove that it is our Interest to be so?

In No. 5. p. 8. He says, *I am very sensible that the DEPENDANCY of IRELAND has been put into a*

very strong Light, but yet it is the true one.-----  
*Let Cannan be cursed, and be a servant of servants*  
*to his Brethren; who has forced us thus, to discover*  
*our Father's Nakedness.* Here he confesses that we  
 are naked and defenceless, but denounces a dread-  
 ful *Anathema* against Him who hath forced us to dis-  
 cover our *Weakness*. Why this Curse? Were the Brit-  
 ons strangers to our *Nakedness*? ---He will answer in  
 the next Paragraph; *The knowing People of Great-*  
*Britain had sufficient Apprehension of this before.*  
 Does He fear, that Britain will flea this naked Peo-  
 ple? No, He tells you in No, 4. P, 13. *The ENG-*  
*LISH are a sensible, generous and good-natured People,*  
*Humane and kind to all who depend upon them.* But,  
 perhaps the Prevaricator would have our real Con-  
 dition a secret, till we had means of shaking of all  
 Dependance, and of giving Law to our Neigh-  
 bours. This could never happen without Strug-  
 gle, without Violence, without Arms; and He has  
 too delicate a Sense of Danger to engage in any  
 Undertaking, in which He might hear the Noise of  
 a Cannon, or behold the Glittering of Spears.

Thus far I have examined his Policy, and his  
 Application of it: Those Inferences which I have  
 drawn from his Doctrine, are natural and Easy;  
 Indeed it was difficult to draw many, and perhaps  
 this was the Design of his frequent Contradictions.  
 In what I have quoted, the Fool is predominant,  
 and he would have passed unregarded, had not the  
 Knave been discovered skulking under the Mask  
 of Integrity and Prudence: Out of his own Mouth  
 will I condemn him. To demonstrate his Love to  
 his Country, He tells us in No. 3. P, 13. *I am*  
*unwilling*

*unwilling to mention how much She (that is England) may do, for She will be Sufficiently ingenious at finding out Expedients, to humble us, if there be need.--- But some things, that are in her Power absolutely, because they are matters of Trade, must and ought to be mentioned, that we may be truly Sensible of our DEPENDANCY. In the first Sentence his Caution is remarkable, nothing must be mentioned. In the next, Matters of Trade must be mentioned. Is not Trade our principal Concern? But they must be mentioned to make us Sensible of our Dependance. Our Dependance then, was a Secret till he discovered it; ---Let CANAAN be cursed, and be a Servant of Servants to his Brethren, who hath revealed our Father's Nakedness.*

BUT what hath this Cautious Man revealed He will tell you in No, 3. P, 14. CONSIDER Soberly, if ENGLAND should for, two years only, take from you the AMERICAN trade; if she should for that Time, exclude you from Exportation to her PLANTATIONS, as she has from direct IMPORTATION, what Figure the lower CORPORATIONS in DUBLIN would make. Here he has kindly told our Neighbours not only the Manner, but the very space of Time, in which we may be ruined. If in any Part of his Writings, this Gentleman draws an amiable Picture of Himself, "It is mete I should set it down, that one may smile, and smile, and be a Villain; at least I am sure it is so with Him. In the Last Paragraph which I have quoted, he says, READ ME; I AM MOUED BY THE PUBLICK GOOD; I AM A GOOD SUBJECT. If he had given one Proof of this, I could forgive him; But

But alas, we live in an Age when Proofs are either not required, or not regarded.

I should now bid adieu to this Gentleman and all his Impertinence; but he has published Facts, so nearly akin to direct Falsehood, that I know not how to distinguish them. He has told you in No. 3. P. 15. that, *a LIBEL was impudently presented to the LORDS JUSTICES on the 12th. of last June, reflecting highly and unjustly on the KING, GREAT BRITAIN, the PARLIAMENTS of GREAT BRITAIN and IRELAND, LORD LIEUTENANT, JUDGES and all other Officers under the Crown. This Libel was in Form of a DEDICATION.* If this was a Libel against his Majesty, why did this State-Surgeon, this loyal Subject sleep from June to September? why did he not alarm the Ministry? How came it to pass, that the Author of this Libel continued so long unmolested? Shall our Laws defend EXCELLENCY, and leave MAJESTY exposed to Insults without Remedy? Have we Magistrates? If we have, why did they neglect their Duty? Did they know their Duty? yes, you have heard from the Bench tremendous Judgements denounced against Libels.

BUT this Slanderer proceeds in the same Page to tell you, that this Libel was discountenanced by the Lords Justices; and then he casts this Scandalous, false and Villainous Reflexion on the Loyal Citizens of Dublin; *Instead of supporting the Government, and discountenancing Sedition, which all good Subjects should do, for their own Security; Manifestoes*

*señores of some of the lower CORPORATIONS have since issued, in Opposition to this just Censure of the Government.* What Corporation opposed the Government? What Body of Men promoted Rebellion, encouraged Sedition, or whispered Disaffection? If Discontents arose, supposed Grievances, at least, gave Birth to them; shall free born Citizens be slandered, reviled and robbed of the Privileges of Society, because they have been mistaken? And shall Men be the judges of their Errors? shall Creatures of like mold stand up and say, we are infallible, we know your Hearts, we will judge of your Motives? It is a Presumption, that should shock Humanity. Shall this Man, who complains so loudly of the Defamation of private Characters, heap unjust Calumny on the Metropolis of Ireland, and plunder her of her fair Fame of Loyalty? When he speaks of her Citizens, his mildest Epithets are, *mislead, misguided, seditious &c.* I will suppose that his writings should out-live himself, that they should fall into the Hands of a British Prince, who from them should form his Idea of this City; Would he not look with a Jealous Eye upon us? a wise Prince would strictly watch us; he would keep his Loyns for ever girt, and his sword upon his Thigh.

Thus you see to what Difficulties this Slanderer has exposed you; It behoves you to wipe away the Stain, by fixing a lasting Mark of Infamy on his Works. Unhappily the fictitious Author denies the Brats, the real Author lies concealed: But if a

C

Man

Man could be found, who, to promote his private Gain, disguised his Avarice and Vanity under the Mask of publick Virtue; whose affected Patriotism was fapp'd by the bare Appearance of Preferment, which has long been held out to his View, and is now within his Grasp; who, moved by private Resentment, carried on a Prosecution under the Colour of public Spirit; who appealed to Heaven with uplifted Eyes, for his Sincerity, while he committed undisguised Injustice: Such a Man would be capable of publishing all those Absurdities, Contradictions and Slander, which I have mentioned, and to such a Man I might with Justice apply the following Lines:

----- Thou cold blooded Slave,  
 Hast thou not spoke like Thunder on my Side?  
 Been sworn my Friend, bidding me depend  
 Upon thy Stars, thy Fortune, and thy Strength,  
 And dost thou now fall over to my Foes?

My Friends, you should be alarmed from many Quarters, you are told that the Press is dangerous; dangerous to whom? To bad Magistrates? Usurping Tyrants and their slavish Minions; to Men whose Actions dread the Public Eye, who fear lest Justice should out run Law, and they should fall a Sacrifice to an incensed People's Indignation. The  
 Freedom

Freedom of the Press is one of the greatest Bulwarks of your Liberty, which you should defend with your Fortunes and your Lives; if you suffer a Breach to be made there, Error and Corruption will rush in and overspread the Land, your Complaints will be unheard, your Grievances unredressed, and weak and wicked Ministers will blunder the Nation into abject slavery. You are told that a Restraint of the Licentiousness, will secure the Freedom of the Press: Are our Laws defective, or what Licentiousness has escaped Punishment? The Bounds of the Freedom and Licentiousness of the Press are delicate, nor can every hot-brained Man determine them; he who sets new Limits to the Press, puts Shackles on the Arms of Liberty and makes one great Stride to her Destruction. But why should the Press be now restrained? Surely it cannot be, because Truth grows offensive to a few, or lest bad Men should be checked, in their bad Career.

Now, my Fellow-subjects, Judge by your own Senses, hear with your own Ears, and you will distinguish the shrieking of the Lapwing, from the Voice of the Turtle. You have seen great Vicissitudes; but History furnishes much greater. I have there read, that § ARISTIDES the best Man of his Time, was driven from his native Country, by the Violence of Party-Rage, because his Virtue was a Reproach to his Prosecutors: I have read, that after the Death of that great Man, whose Poverty

was

§ Plutarch.

was the Effect of Virtue, the Gratitude of the People for his many Services, heaped all Honours on his Offspring, and the State, by publick Decree, became a Parent to his Children.

Farewel,

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Now, my Fellow-Rights, Indulge your own  
Senses, and with your own Eyes, and you will  
distinguish the Merit of the Lawgiver, from the  
Voice of the People. You have seen great Vices  
in the Law, but I have seen much greater in  
the Man who made it. I have seen the best Man of  
his Time, was driven from his native Country,  
by the Tyranny of a few Men, because his Virtue  
was too much for their Vices: I have seen, that  
after the Death of our great Man, whose Every

is finished.